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MASTERS IN ART

II

Drawings of

**Holbein**

The Younger

GERMAN SCHOOL

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CALIFORNIA

NC 1145

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UNIV. OF  
CALIFORNIA

Fitz Williams Earl of Southampton.



335706







The Lady Eliot.

















The Lady Vaux.









The Lady Heveningham.





Maye.





PORTRAIT OF HOLBEIN

AFTER VORSTERMAN'S ENGRAVING

During the last year of his life Holbein apparently painted his own likeness three times, once in miniature and twice at about half-life size. Of the two larger portraits, the one in the Uffizi Gallery has been so altered by repainting that it can now hardly be considered as a likeness. Both the miniature and the second painting are lost; but from one or the other of them two engravings were made during the seventeenth century, one by Vorsterman and the other by Hollar. It is upon Vorsterman's rendering that our reproduction is based. A comparison with the only adequate likeness of the artist that exists (reproduced in a former issue of this SERIES), which was drawn by Holbein when he was twenty-five, will show that twenty years later his face had assumed a graver expression, and that, following the fashion of the English court, he had let his beard grow in imitation of the king.

## Hans Holbein the Younger

BORN 1497: DIED 1543

GERMAN SCHOOL

THE present issue treats only of Holbein's portrait drawings at Windsor Castle, England. His paintings were considered in MASTERS IN ART, Volume I., Part 4. In that number will be found another account of his life, further criticisms of his art, and a fuller bibliography of the literature concerning him.

HANS HOLBEIN the Younger was born in 1497, at Augsburg, in Swabia. He was the son of Hans Holbein, an artist of decided merit, whose work is marked by a purer taste and a more agreeable realism than that of his contemporaries, and who was the first to temper German art with Italian elements. In some cases the work of the elder Holbein has with difficulty been distinguished from that of his more celebrated son, who was no doubt educated as a painter in Augsburg by his father, and perhaps, too, by his uncle Sigmund, also a painter there. Among the pictures now preserved in his native city, only one by the younger Holbein, a Madonna, can be recorded as authentic; but it is believed that he had a share in the fine altar-piece, 'The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian,' painted by his father, which is now in the Munich Gallery.

About the year 1514, the young Hans, accompanied by his brother Ambrosius, left Augsburg, and sought employment as an illustrator of books at Basle, then the centre of the humanist revival in literature, and celebrated as the home of many of the most eminent scholars of the day. Prominent among them was Erasmus, who is said to have been one of Holbein's first patrons, and for whom, soon after his arrival, he illustrated an edition of the 'Praise of Folly,' now in the Museum of Basle, with pen-and-ink sketches. It was in Basle that the great Amerbach printing-press had been established, and after the death of its founder, John Amerbach, the business was carried on by his partner, John Froben, who employed Holbein to draw title-page blocks and initials for the new editions of the Bible and the classics which issued from his press. The artist's leisure moments seem to have been devoted to the production of a schoolmaster's sign, still preserved in the Basle Museum, and a table painted with allegories, now in the library of the Uni-

versity of Zurich. He also painted several remarkable portraits, among them those of the Burgomaster Jacob Meyer and his wife, and that of his friend Bonifacius Amerbach.

Notwithstanding these and other commissions, Holbein did not, however, find sufficient occupation in Basle; and we hear of him at about this time in Lucerne, where he was employed to decorate the inside and outside of a new house belonging to one Jacob von Hertenstein. This house remained standing until 1824, when it was destroyed to make room for local improvements, though copies of the paintings with which it was decorated are in the town library at Lucerne. It has been frequently suggested that at about this period Holbein may have crossed the Alps and journeyed into Northern Italy, so marked is the Italian influence in many of his works; but there is no proof that he did so, and the Italian manner may be traced to his probable study of engravings of the works of Mantegna and other transalpine masters.

At any rate, he returned to Basle in 1519, and was admitted into the gild of painters of that town. In the same year he married Elsbeth Schmidt, a widow with one son, and by her had several children. He at first found employment in making designs for stained glass windows and in painting the outsides of many houses with simulated architectural features; but before long he received the more important commission to paint the walls of the town hall of Basle with scenes chosen from classical history. He also executed several religious works, such as a 'Last Supper,' the eight Passion pictures, a 'Dead Christ,' a 'Nativity,' an 'Adoration of the Magi,' a 'St. Ursula and St. George,' the great 'Madonna and Saints' at Solothurn, and the still greater 'Madonna with the Meyer Family' now in the Ducal Palace at Darmstadt. This subject, painted for the ex-burgomaster of Basle, Jacob Meyer, is perhaps best known through the famous picture in the Dresden Gallery, now considered to be an excellent and possibly contemporaneous copy.

In 1522 Luther's translation of the New Testament was published at Wittenberg, and the printers of Basle issued numerous reprints of it. The title-pages and illustrations for many of these editions were designed by Holbein. He also designed the famous series of woodcuts illustrating 'The Dance of Death,' which reveals him as one of the leading agents in the spread of the new doctrines of the Reformation, now making great strides in Germany. The dissensions which these doctrines caused, however, brought about a general paralysis of art. It put an end to all orders for altar-pieces, for pictures of the Madonna or of saints. Even classic subjects were tabooed by the Reformers; and Holbein soon realized that if he was to gain a living as a painter he must go where art held a different position from that to which it was relegated in Basle. Accordingly, taking a bold resolution, he determined to carry out a previously conceived plan of visiting England; and in 1526, provided with a letter of introduction from Erasmus to Sir Thomas More, he crossed the English Channel to try his fortune in another land.

Henry VIII., whose court is said to have been the home of all the arts, of science, of painting, of architecture, and of literature, was at this time on the English throne. He had set the example of collecting works of art, and "the choicest present that you could make him was a picture, a statue, a piece of tapestry, or a beautifully chased suit of armor." Sir Thomas More was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and William Warham, another correspondent of Erasmus, was Archbishop of Canterbury. More was then a close personal friend of the king, who was in the habit of taking the royal barge at Whitehall stairs and rowing down the Thames to Chelsea, where More lived, to lunch or dine with the chancellor unannounced; and afterwards would walk up and down with him in his garden, the royal arm thrown around More's neck, while they talked of theology, geometry, and music, and in the evening they would discuss the mysteries of astronomy; or it might be that the king would listen to a freshly written page of his host's 'Utopia,' with its arguments in favor of freedom of conscience. Through Sir Thomas More, who had welcomed the painter at first as a friend of Erasmus, but who was not slow to appreciate his genius, Holbein obtained access to the leading men of the court; and in portraiture, the only form of art then in demand in England, found ample occupation. Most of the principal men and women of the day sat to him, and in the priceless collection of drawings now at Windsor, made partly at this time and partly during his subsequent stay in England, are to be found many of the studies for their portraits.

After a sojourn of two years in England, Holbein returned to Basle. Here, as the records show, he purchased a house for his wife and children, whose portraits, now in the Basle Museum, he painted at this time. The City Council asked him to complete the frescos of the town hall, which, owing to the depressions of the times, had been left unfinished; and the sketches which he made for these pictures show that he had not, through his devotion to portraiture, lost the spirit of his earlier days, but was still great as a composer. He soon found, however, that the Basle to which he had returned afforded no free field for art. The reformed religion now held full sway there, and the citizens were forced into compliance with it. An iconoclastic outbreak took place which, in one day, destroyed almost all the religious pictures in the city, including some of Holbein's own; and notwithstanding the appeal of his fellow-citizens to remain among them, Holbein, after an absence of four years, returned to England in 1532.

In England too, however, he found many changes. Sir Thomas More had fallen from royal favor; Archbishop Warham was dead; and it was among his own countrymen, the German merchants of the Steelyard,—members of the Hanseatic League settled in London,—that Holbein found employment. For them he painted many of his finest portraits, and at their instigation designed an allegorical pageant representing Parnassus on the occasion of Anne Boleyn's coronation procession. He was also employed to execute two large paintings for the walls of their gildhall, depicting 'The Triumph of Riches' and 'The Triumph of Poverty.' Only the original

sketch for 'The Triumph of Riches' exists. It was at about this time, too, that he painted the important picture known as 'The Ambassadors,' which now hangs in the National Gallery, London.

It is not until 1536 that there is any record of Holbein's official connection with the court. In that year, however, we find him spoken of as "the king's painter," and in that year he painted the new queen, Jane Seymour, and in the year following frescoed a group of Henry VIII. with his father and mother and Jane Seymour on the wall of the privy chamber at Whitehall. This fresco perished in the fire of 1698, but the original cartoon for the figures of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. is at Hardwick Hall in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire.

As court painter, Holbein was called upon to "do everything that could be done with a brush; to paint everything that required painting—a wall, a coat of arms, a shield, a portrait, or a battle-piece; and like most of the distinguished painters of his time, he was a man of infinite variety and readiness. He could turn his hand to everything; could paint a portrait or decorate a wall; design a gateway or take a sketch of the Duchess of Milan or Anne of Cleves for Henry to fall in love with; emboss in wax for the beauties of the court, or color a shield of arms for the knights of the tournament; design a drinking-cup for Jane Seymour, or a sword-hilt for the king; or take up his graving-knife and cut his own designs for Sir Thomas More's 'Utopia,' or a new edition of the Bible."

Henry VIII. seems to have held his court painter in higher estimation than most of the men of the craft were held at that time. As an illustration of this Horace Walpole tells the following story, for which Carel van Mander is responsible: "One day, as Holbein was privately drawing some lady's picture for the king, a great lord forced himself into the chamber. Holbein threw him down stairs; the peer cried out; Holbein bolted himself in, escaped over the top of the house, and running directly to the king, fell on his knees, and besought his majesty to pardon him, without declaring the offence. The king promised to forgive him if he would tell the truth; but soon began to repent, saying that he should not easily overlook such insults; and bade him wait in the apartment till he had learned more of the matter. Immediately arrived the lord with his complaint, but sinking the provocation. At first the monarch heard the story with temper, but broke out, reproaching the nobleman with his want of truth, and adding, 'You have not to do with Holbein, but with me. I tell you, of seven peasants I can make as many lords, but not one Holbein. Begone; and remember that if ever you pretend to revenge yourself, I shall look on any injury offered to the painter as done to myself.'"

A few months after the death of Jane Seymour, Holbein was sent to Brussels to paint a portrait of Christina of Denmark, the widowed Duchess of Milan, for whose hand the English king now entered into negotiations. Although he had but three hours in which to accomplish his work, the painter was thoroughly successful. The portrait that he then painted is probably

the one now at Windsor, not the exquisitely finished full-length from Arundel Castle.

Before returning to England Holbein paid a visit to his family at Basle, where he made his appearance clad in silk and satin, and was entertained at a banquet by the citizens, who voted him an annuity, as well as conferring one upon his wife for two years, at the end of which time he promised to return and take up his final abode among them.

By New Year's day, 1539, he was again in England, and we are told of an homage he paid the king on that occasion by presenting him with "a table of the pictour of the prince's grace,"—possibly the portrait of the young Edward VI. which is now at Hanover.

During the following summer Henry sent his court painter on another mission to the continent, this time to paint a portrait of the Princess Anne of Cleves at Düren, near Cologne, with a result sufficiently attractive to decide the king matrimonially in her favor. As Walpole tells the story, "Holbein drew so favorable a likeness of the princess that Henry was content to wed her; but when he found her so inferior to her portrait the storm, which really should have been directed at his painter, burst on his minister; and Cromwell lost his head because Anne was 'a Flanders mare,' not a Venus, as Holbein had represented her."

Holbein was at work upon a large picture of Henry VIII. granting a charter to the newly incorporated Company of the Barber-surgeons when a pestilence broke out in London, to which he fell a victim; and on some day between the seventh of October and the twenty-ninth of November in the year 1543, after making a hasty will, he died. About his death, as about his life, little definite is known. The place of his burial cannot be certainly determined, although he is supposed to have been buried in the Church of St. Katherine Cree, London. In the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft, where he lived, he was rated as a stranger, showing that he was not a permanent resident in England.

## The Art of Holbein

JEAN ROUSSEAU

'HANS HOLBEIN'

**H**OLBEIN'S genius is nowhere more clearly shown than in his drawings. Indeed, we may question whether even his finest paintings add anything to the admiration which we feel before the drawings at Windsor and at Basle. Painting seems, somehow, to have limited and confined the freer sweep of his talent. A habitual and characteristic patience seems to be the dominant note in his pictures. No Gothic works are more minutely studied. If, however, their finish is equal to that of the primitives there is none of the primitive timidity, and they bear witness to wonderful power and to perseverance, foresight, knowledge, and will. But his drawings are freer, and

show that his talent was infinitely more supple than we should conclude from his paintings alone. Nothing is wanting to them either in conception, color, or technique. Limited as they are to mere sketches—sober, workmanlike, rapid—they seem as complete as his most finished pictures. His pencil has seized the suppleness of stuffs, the quality and gleam of steel, the texture and tone of flesh, movement, momentary expression—all with the concision and mastery of one who can recognize and portray with one brief stroke the fundamental elements which comprise type, expression, and effect.

No one has excelled Holbein in grasp of this essential trinity in which the characteristic lies. We shall see it strikingly if we will compare these sketches with any photograph, and observe how much more lifelike, more fundamental, more true they are; for they are freed of the numberless details which, signifying nothing, merely serve to disguise the true physiognomy in a photograph, that, with all its minute and infallible exactness, is often so little true as a likeness.

In Holbein's drawings we find every element needed to constitute true art—charm, conception, and effect. Few, if indeed any, of the great draughtsmen—even Masaccio with his simpler line, or Leonardo with his stronger modeling of masses—have succeeded in giving us more powerful impressions. And if his drawings are among his greatest works, the greatest of his drawings are the historic portraits preserved at Windsor Castle. How they call up the time! As you look at them you are made contemporary with these people of the court of Henry VIII.; you know them, even to intimacy, one and all. Here is the venerable William Warham, Archbishop—a portrait finer, more delicate, more supple, than even the finished painting of him in the Louvre. How subtly, as if by a woman's gentle hand, are the ravages of age portrayed, the soft and wearied eyes, and the firm mouth, with its sad, peaceful line. Nor is the sketch of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, less fine. See how wonderfully Holbein's pencil has traced the contour of that emaciated cheek; look at those eyes, as unquiet as if the future martyr, who was to lose his head for his fidelity to his religious faith, already foresaw and braved that tragic end. Here is Sir Thomas Eliot, the friend of Thomas More, like him made immortal in a superb drawing, with its wonderful modeling, discreet mouth, firm features, and serious, almost severe look.

It is in such moral revelations as these that we see Holbein at his greatest. No master has looked through the human face into the human soul with a more unerring penetration; none has more completely realized Fromentin's superb definition: "Painting is the art of expressing the invisible by means of the visible." Holbein amongst all portraitists has most inevitably guessed the secret behind the mask; has most invariably made the silent glance and the mute mouth to speak; has most pitilessly branded the character, life, and soul upon the countenance.—FROM THE FRENCH

THÉOPHILE GAUTIER AND OTHERS

'LES DIEUX ET LES DEMI-DIEUX DE LA PEINTURE'

RUBENS, who was privileged to speak with authority, said of Holbein: "He is the painter of the living, breathing truth"; and Rubens was right, for it is not only the aspect but the very soul of nature that Holbein shows us on his canvases. Standing before a portrait by his hand we see, beneath the often rude externals of the men and women of his time, transfiguring these externals as the unseen sun transmutes the morning mists, the very pulse and temper of the sixteenth century. With him art is not a poetic misrepresentation of truth, but truth itself, for better or for worse. Rembrandt saw reality, even in its most brutal aspects, through a mirage of poetry, and, intoxicated with the glamour of light, surpassed the achievements of nature, and attained his ideal through the glorification of truth, as others seek to attain it through the blinking of truth. Holbein, on the contrary, with less genius than Rembrandt, was too cold a nature to allow truth to weave any such magic spells before his clear-seeing eyes. I do not mean to say that he lacked poetry or fancy—did he not illustrate the 'Praise of Folly' for that bantering philosopher his friend Erasmus with a wonderfully sympathetic pencil? and his 'Dance of Death' bears witness that he was imbued to the full with that same sombre inspiration which animated the medieval poets of France and has continued to inspire the poets of Germany. He was in these instances, however, rather the poet turned artist than the artist turned poet. The poetry lay in the story which his hand cunningly and feelingly delineated; it was not his art which poetized the tales he wished to tell. . . .

In the same way, he had no great talent for the necessary falsification involved in historical painting, and he seems to have felt a certain self-respecting pride in never departing from his native Teutonic style. When antiquity was urged upon him he answered that he had no need to go so far afield for models, and turned to the men and women about him. Rembrandt held the same opinion; and both were right, for both have proved their case by creating from among their own contemporaries a world of men and women who, after the lapse of three centuries, are as living to-day as they were when their creators first begot them. Stand in any of the great galleries before the portraits by Rembrandt or Holbein, and look first upon the painted images and then upon the sightseers who pause before them, and tell me which are the more living in your *mind*, as distinguished from your eye. Thus do great painters continue the Lord's work of creation.—FROM THE FRENCH

LOUIS GEBHARDT

FROM AN UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT

AMONG the treasures at Windsor Castle—indeed, to my thinking, the chief treasure—is a set of eighty-odd drawings by Hans Holbein. These drawings—studies for portraits many of which were later executed in oils—represent the ladies and gentlemen of the English court of Henry

VIII. They are, for the most part, executed in black Italian crayon upon rough-surface paper of a dull, pinkish-red tone. Some are lightly washed here and there with India ink, some slightly enhanced with colored chalks, and a few are almost completely colored and elaborated. Here and there one is roughly scribbled upon with memoranda for the colors, "the eyes a little brownish," "this bodice red," or the like; and the outlines of several have been pricked through in the process of transferring them to canvas. Mere preliminary studies as they are, however, they seem to me to rank artistically as high as Holbein's most finished works; and considered purely as drawings, I would exchange the best of them (were I so fortunate as to be their possessor) for none of Raphael's that I can call to mind, and for but one or two of Leonardo da Vinci's.

Quite apart from the educative value of such drawings from the hand of a master, which afford, as it were, a peep behind the scenes and show us methods and processes concealed in the completed work, these Windsor sketches exhibit, in my judgment, all the preëminent qualities of Holbein's genius. If I have a fault to find with his paintings, it is that they are too smooth, too perfectly finished; and I believe that in more than one instance he has carried a canvas a step beyond its best estate and thereby lost something of his natural strength and directness. Moreover, I cannot rank Holbein among the great colorists. Harmonious his tones certainly are, but he seems to make use of colors not as hues and for their own sakes, but rather, if I may so express it, as so many steps in the scale from white to black, or monochromatically. In other words, if he uses blue of a certain shade, he seems to use it not because it is *blue*, but because blue in that shade will count as one degree darker in his predetermined scheme than a red of the same brilliancy would have done: and here I find my judgment confirmed by the fact that no paintings lose less of their quality or values in engravings or photographs than do those of Holbein.

In the Windsor drawings, then, we miss but those two elements which Holbein's genius could best afford to lose,—finish and color. On the other hand, their very simplicity and sketchiness seem to bring into greater prominence his three supreme qualities,—power of depicting character, technical mastery, and decorative sense.

To explain why and how one artist succeeds in grasping the innate character of the face that looks out at you from his canvas, and why and how another fails, is, like the definition of beauty, a task too subtle for words. No artifice will accomplish it, no skill can attain it; it lies deeper than any realism, deeper than any perfection of drawing or modeling, and beneath all the subtleties of chiaroscuro; yet it is as evident as if we could demonstrate the process by geometry. Perhaps the best attempt at a definition that I can make is that the artist who can convey this sense of underlying character sees not alone the superficial lineaments of his model, but at the same time recognizes the sitter's innate nature; and *because* he recognizes it, though that recognition may be conscious or unconscious on his part, he is instinctively led to choose just that one among the multitude of flitting

expressions that play at endless hide-and-seek between his sitter's actual self and the world which truly shows us the man as he is; and that having seized the true aspect of his model in this one flash of revelation, the artist is led, by the same instinct of genius, to disregard all the other untruthful, or but partly truthful, and confusing aspects. But because the aspect which he has thus chosen (and, I repeat, perhaps chosen unconsciously) does show us the man at the moment when his outward and inward life fall into a focus, we recognize it instantly for truth.

In the Windsor drawings Holbein has shown us the personages of Henry VIII.'s court with their true inner selves looking out through their faces. In no other way can we account for the vivid impression of reality—reality mental and moral as well as physical—which they make upon us. The drawings are not all of equal value, it is true. Some of them are quite lacking in the vital spark; some have evidently been elaborated to their detriment by another hand than Holbein's; but among the eighty are there not represented thirty persons, at least, whom we feel instantly that we know, not only physically, but in their characteristics and dispositions, and of whom we could predict, with some likelihood of accuracy, certain actions, and predicate the general and broader elements of their characters? I think we should not need history to tell us that the aged Bishop of Rochester would have refused to renounce his religion even at the cost of his head, that Anne Boleyn was selfish and feline, or that Sir Richard Southwell was audacious, tenacious, and self-interested;—and so I might go on through the whole list.

Reflect, then, for a moment upon the fact that with the simplest of means—a scrap of tinted paper, a few scrawls of black chalk—Holbein has created images of some thirty complex human creatures, from which we, of three centuries later, are perhaps better able to fathom the true inward individual characters of their originals than if we were actually brought face to face with them, under their momentarily shifting and confusing aspects; and you will perhaps be willing to conclude with me that there is no greater element of genius in art than this power to depict character; and that in this power Holbein ranks as an equal with Velasquez and Rembrandt.

Of Holbein's technical mastery it is easier to speak, and yet it seems a waste of words to do so. If the reader has with his own hand attempted any of the processes of art which here look so easy as Holbein executes them he will not need my words to draw attention to the marvelous, nay, matchless, technical command over form and line that these drawings evidence. If, on the contrary, he has never attempted such processes for himself, he can never fully appreciate the mastery exhibited. Yet none can, I think, quite fail to realize Holbein's supreme technical ability if he will but consider what has been here accomplished with a few quickly drawn lines,—and I say quickly drawn, because the structural lines in these drawings are manifestly swept in with one motion of the hand,—unniggled and uncorrected, pure and continuous from end to end. With one quickly drawn sweep of a bit of black chalk, then, Holbein has not only traced the outline, with all its subtle indentations and curves, that shows us the age-fallen cheek of Bishop

Fisher, but has indicated its texture also, so that it looks soft and furrowed like the skin of an old man. With another such sweep he has outlined the full, plump cheek of the Lady Vaux, or the folded garment of Sir John Gage, never varying one iota all the time from the exquisite truth of outline as outline, and yet has somehow contrived to make these black scratches suggest to us successively the smoothness or flaccidity of flesh or the suppleness of cloth.

Again, and as another evidence of Holbein's technical mastery, look at the modeling of these faces, and see how subtly and how perfectly it is suggested, and with what slight means. It has been accomplished, too, without the help of any such strong and clearly defined shadows as Rembrandt or Leonardo would have used. Each face in the drawings is illuminated with an even and diffused light coming from no determinable point. Yet so keen was Holbein's eye and so cunning his hand, that, depending partly upon the exquisite exactness of his contour lines, partly upon almost imperceptible rubbings and washings of the paper here and there, he has suggested rather than shown the modeling with such unerring surety that we imagine that we might follow delicately with a finger-tip each soft salience and each rounded hollow in these living faces.

A third quality of Holbein's genius which these drawings preëminently exhibit is his great decorative sense—a quality which, it seems to me, has been far less dwelt upon and commonly recognized than it deserves to be. I have spoken above (and perhaps it may be thought over-slightly) of Holbein as a colorist, meaning then by colorist simply a disposer and harmonizer of *hues*; but as a distributor of *values* I cannot overpraise him. Did ever another make spaces of pure creaming white so to sparkle in contrast with the glow—I can find no other word—of velvet black, and give each of these fundamental notes an infinitely varied and added worth by a cunningly distributed balance of surrounding grays? Such a comprehension of the delight that lies in a skilful distribution of values, quite apart from the question of color, is a primal quality of the great decorator. In Holbein's drawings we cannot, of course, observe this quality so fully as in his paintings where he has completely elaborated the monochromatic scheme, nor in them has he taken pains to elaborate those intricate and fascinating patterns with which he loved to enrich the garments of his sitters, adding thereby so much of what the artist would call "texture value"; but now and again he has given us a hint of his pleasure in the solid mass of black, relieved against gray, or the contrasting brilliancy of a touch of white.

On the other hand, Holbein's power of arranging lines to decorate a given space is more clear in these drawings than in his finished works, for in the completed paintings we lose sight of these lines themselves, and scarcely recognize how largely their contours and patterns add to our pleasure. Let me ask the reader, however, to set these drawings up before him, and discharging from his mind, if possible, any recognition of the fact that they represent human beings, let him look at the image of lines and tones presented merely as a shaded pattern disposed in a given rectangle. With the excep-

tion of those few cases in which the drawings have been trimmed down from their original proportions, let him observe how exactly each of these patterns has been set in just the proper place within the bounded area; how cunningly calculated is the enclosed space in relation to the spaces left blank, and how the contour lines balance and echo and relieve one another;—in short, how beautiful as a mere piece of decorative drawing, quite apart from all question of what it represents, is each of these sketches. If the reader can agree with me in recognizing these achievements, he will not, I think, contradict my assertion that an artist who, even in sketches, thrown off merely as preliminary steps and aids, could compose with such unerring effect had a genius for decoration.

P. ALBERT KUHN

‘ALLGEMEINE KUNST-GESCHICHTE’

THE place assigned to Holbein in the history of art is side by side with Dürer; yet these two greatest of German masters are in many respects very dissimilar. Both lived at a time when art, inspired with the fresh breath of the Renaissance, felt a new impetus and was turned into new channels; but in Dürer's works, apart from a few isolated and unimportant figures, the influence of the Renaissance is still imperceptible. The whole appearance of his pictures is old German, and, if not actually medieval, they are at least allied to the art of the fifteenth century. Not so with Holbein. He stands midway in the current of the Renaissance, and if we except a few of his earliest religious pictures, in which the influence of early German traditions is felt, he seems wholly and strikingly modern.

There is no doubt that Holbein profited by the study of engravings of the works of Mantegna, but as he must have seen more than merely a few copperplate proofs, it has been suggested that he made a journey from Basle or Lucerne into Northern Italy. If such be not the case, he at any rate certainly had opportunities, both in his native town of Augsburg and in Basle, of knowing what was being done by the Italian artists of the time. But Holbein was never an imitator of the Italians. His pictures are truly German in character—not only in the figures, but in the decorative accessories; and these last, executed in the most beautiful and delicate lines and in a peculiarly characteristic way, furnish some of the most precious contributions to what is known as the German Renaissance. . . .

Dürer was a profound thinker—a man whose nature was devout, earnest, and religious. The main interest of his pictures lies in their meaning, in their thoughtful and fervid conception, in the deep and weighty significance of their subjects. The figures, however, are often cumbersome and devoid of grace or charm. Holbein's figures, on the contrary, have the greatest freedom, lightness, and elegance; his taste is purer, his conception freer than Dürer's, his composition simpler; but his works lack the depth of feeling, richness of thought, and earnestness of the older master.

These and other differences between the two great artists are partly to be explained by the period in which each began his career. Dürer, some

twenty-five years Holbein's senior, belongs in his art to the fifteenth century; Holbein was, so to speak, initiated into the art of the Renaissance with his very earliest instruction from his father, who had himself just passed through the transition of German art from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century. But perhaps, after all, the truest and most comprehensive explanation of the difference between Dürer and Holbein lies in the difference of the spiritual natures of the two men. . . .

The wonderful, artistic composition, the weird and fascinating invention, of Dürer's creations are justly celebrated, but these are qualities quite apart from the technique of painting. Dürer, indeed, is more of a draughtsman than a painter. He *draws* with his brush instead of painting in free and flowing strokes. In composition Holbein is less artistic, but in the technique of painting he is a master of the first rank. The key of his color is usually bright and clear and somewhat cool, as would be caused by the light of an interior. Firm decided outlines, tender, delicate, and often almost imperceptible transitions from the light to the shaded parts, strong plastic modeling, but apparently the utmost simplicity in the handling, are characteristic features of Holbein's pictures. His coloring became constantly more and more delicate and vaporous, especially as in his later pictures he made a freer use of ultramarine. He was particularly successful in his flesh tones, which in his early works he shaded with browns and grays, and later with blues. Like the painters of the Netherlands, Holbein took the greatest pains with the preparation of his colors that he might give to each picture its special light and freshness. Faults in anatomy and proportion are not uncommon in his works, but they do not offend one, so striking is the artist's keen observation of nature and so true his feeling for form.—FROM THE GERMAN

ÉMILE MONTÉGUT

'LES PAYS-BAS'

THE principal characteristics of Holbein—those which have made him a true representative of the Germanic race, and, with the exception of Albrecht Dürer, their most serious artist—are two: first, passionate desire for truth; and second, indifference to beauty for its own sake.

The painter who has a genius for beauty will find it most difficult not to be untruthful now and again. The oval of the face lacks so slight a change to make it perfect; if the line of the nose were but altered a hair's breadth it would be irreproachable;—why not aid nature, then, when she needs so little correction? Who that has looked on Italian pictures cannot divine that their painters, seduced by their innate love of beauty, have so falsified nature time and time again? Leonardo's 'Mona Lisa' is irresistible, but was that fleeting smile habitual to her face? was it not, rather, the transitory expression of one ephemeral moment? Of such falsifications Holbein was never guilty. When beauty sat to him—and he did sometimes find her before his easel—he painted her as she was, with no corrections.

Yet, thanks to this passion for truth, from which no allurements of beauty, howsoever great, seems able to have seduced him, Holbein is of all portraitists

the one who has best expressed the fundamental likeness of his model. Other painters have better caught momentary and fleeting aspects—Rembrandt is incomparable in this respect—others have better depicted those graces of expression which lie upon the surface and bear the same relation to the face that the wildflower bears to the soil on which it blossoms. What Holbein inimitably rendered was his model in repose, his model, as it were, over his own centre of gravity. He shows the essential structure of the face—not, if I may so express it, the light, shifting upper soil or the mantle of vegetation, but the very structure and stratification of the human physiognomy.

It is for this reason that in studying his portraits we are perfectly convinced of their absolute resemblance to the models. If we are not shown fugitive and intermittent expressions, we are, at least, assured of those durable and permanent qualities of which his sitters could no more rid themselves than they could of their skins. Nay, more;—he has shown them as they were, from the cradle to the tomb, in spite of all superficial changes. He has given us what was innate in them, what was present in the flower of their youth, in middle age, and in wrinkled senility. He has seized their innermost “me,” and has depicted it with an incomparable mastery.

Had he painted none but now forgotten mediocrities we should not have doubted the superior quality of his talent, but he was called upon to paint many personages whose deeds and actions have been recorded, and, history in hand, we may guarantee the resemblance of his portraits. The essential character which shows forth in their faces corresponds exactly with the character which history assigns to them.

It is, then, in his ability to seize and to express the fundamental characteristics of his model that Holbein’s peculiar genius as a painter of portraits consists. He is distinguished from all his rivals in that he saw and painted what was essential and *permanent* in the men and women of his time.—

ABRIDGED FROM THE FRENCH

CHARLES BLANC

‘DE PARIS À VENISE’

THE drawings of Holbein are wholly admirable—graceful, frank, and profound. Beneath his pencil the most unpromising features are never ugly: life animates them and soul lights them up. One is almost inclined to believe that Holbein was the intimate friend of every one of his sitters, and had come to know each of them so well that he was able to divine his or her most secret thoughts and dispositions. With his faithful, delicate pencil he has outlined the most subtle and elusive lineaments of the face—those impalpable lines which life traces around mouth and eyes, and upon the temples. He seems, indeed, even to have numbered the lashes which shade the eyes, and to make us conscious of the very down upon the skin. Yet every one of these subtle touches joins in the creation of the fundamental expression—indeed, these delicate lines seem but a fairy net in which the master has entrapped the sitter’s very soul. And yet how simply is the wonderful effect achieved; not a single careless or unavailing line, not a touch which could be spared.—FROM THE FRENCH

## The Drawings of Holbein

RICHARD R. HOLMES

'PORTRAITS BY HANS HOLBEIN'

THE collection of drawings by Hans Holbein forms one of the chief treasures of the Royal Library at Windsor Castle. The whole collection amounts in number to eighty-seven, but of these some are certainly only copies, while one or two bear no trace of either the style or hand of the master. It covers the whole period of Holbein's sojourn in England, and represents, in a fuller and more perfect manner than any other, the extent and variety of his work in portraiture, from his introduction to Sir Thomas More in 1526 until his death in 1543.

The history of this matchless and invaluable collection is not known with absolute accuracy. After the death of Holbein, but at what time cannot be ascertained, the drawings were removed to France; it is possible that they remained in England during the reign of Edward VI., whose tutor, Sir John Cheke, made a list of them, from which some of the present names were given to the portraits. This list, however, has not come down to us, and in many cases the names must have been added long after the time of the execution of the drawings, as they are indubitably incorrect. Nothing more is known of the collection till it was obtained by Charles I. from the French ambassador, M. de Liencourt. The king gave it to his lord chamberlain, the Earl of Pembroke, in exchange for the small picture of 'St. George' by Raphael, which is now in the Louvre. Lord Pembroke gave it to the great art collector the Earl of Arundel, in whose possession it remained till the dispersion of that nobleman's art treasures. The manner in which it came again into the possession of the English Crown is uncertain,—whether it was bought for Charles II., or later by his brother James from the Duke of Norfolk, as hinted by Wornum, no record exists.

It was not till the time of George II. that Queen Caroline found the volume, in company with another of no less importance containing the drawings of Leonardo da Vinci, in a bureau in the Palace of Kensington. Her Majesty had them taken out and framed, and for many years they formed one of the chief decorations of her own closet. Early in the succeeding reign they were removed to the Queen's House, now Buckingham Palace, in London, where they were bound up in two volumes, and became a portion of the large collection of original drawings, bound in a similar manner, which was formed by George III. During Victoria's reign these drawings by Holbein, as well as those of other great masters, were mounted and arranged in a manner more calculated to insure their preservation, and to render their surfaces less exposed to risk of injury, and they are now kept in four large portfolios, where their safety is fully insured.

The drawings themselves are executed almost entirely in chalk of various colors. During the earlier part of his stay in England Holbein drew the

heads on white paper, and the colors of the flesh and the modeling of the features were represented by red chalk. Afterwards he made use of a paper the whole of which was covered with a ground of flesh-color, and the modeling was rendered upon this in black chalk; the outlines of the features, the hair, and the details of dress and ornament were put in with the pen or brush in India ink. These outlines of the features in some of the drawings appear almost coarse in consequence of the more delicate modeling in chalk having disappeared from the rough treatment to which in past times the paper was subjected; but a closer study will show that it is to the combined wonderful strength and delicacy of these touches that the portraits owe the vivid and lifelike quality which they so preëminently possess. In some of the heads these touches occur only on the eyes, nostrils, and lips, where the marvelous accuracy of modeling, particularly in the corners of the mouth, is not excelled in the work of any other master.

# DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PLATES

'WILLIAM FITZWILLIAM, EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON'

PLATE I

**W**ILLIAM FITZWILLIAM, Earl of Southampton, held many important offices under Henry VIII. Knighted for his services at the Siege of Tournay, in 1513, he was soon afterwards created Vice-Admiral of England. He was sent as ambassador to the French court, where his sagacity and presence of mind rendered his services valuable to his country; and when war was declared against France, Fitzwilliam was appointed Vice-Admiral of the navy, under command of the Earl of Surrey.

In 1537, having in the meantime been made a Knight of the Garter and later Treasurer of the King's Household, he was raised to the peerage as Earl of Southampton. Two years later he was sent to Calais to meet Anne of Cleves and conduct her to her future country. In a letter to the king, written while detained at Calais by bad weather, Fitzwilliam, probably thinking it advisable to make the best of a matter then past remedy, repeated the praises of the lady's appearance, and was afterwards accused by Cromwell of having thereby encouraged false hopes in the king's breast. Fitzwilliam's part in this affair, however, led to no disastrous result so far as he himself was concerned, and we hear of him in 1542 leading the van of the English army on its march into Scotland. While so engaged he died at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, leaving by will to the king, with whom he had been associated since childhood, "his great ship with all her tackle, and his collar of the Garter, with his best 'George' beset with diamonds."

In the drawing of him by Holbein, made in black chalk on flesh-tinted paper, the face and head are in fine condition. The body is merely outlined, though around the shoulders his knightly collar can be traced.

'WILLIAM WARHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY'

PLATE II

**W**ILLIAM WARHAM, Archbishop of Canterbury, was prominent in the reigns of both Henry VII. and Henry VIII. His services in connection with the impostor, Perkin Warbeck, whose pretensions to the crown he was largely instrumental in frustrating, obtained him rapid preferment in Church and State. Henry VII. appointed him successively Master of the Rolls, Bishop of London, Lord High Chancellor, and finally Archbishop of Canterbury. He fell into disfavor with Henry VIII., however, and in 1515, having resigned the Great Seal to Wolsey, retired from all public business, except that connected with his church. He discharged his duties as head of the English clergy faithfully and conscientiously, and such was his disregard of worldly affairs and so great his public munificence that he died poor, leaving not more than enough to pay his debts and defray his funeral expenses.

"Among all the drawings in the Windsor collection," writes Woltmann, "perhaps none equals the life-size head of William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury. The outline and many of the lines of the face are traced with the utmost exactness and decision, and the severity of conception, plastic feeling, and noble simplicity cannot be too highly praised."

The drawing, now unfortunately somewhat rubbed and damaged, is on unprimed paper of light stone-color, in black and red chalks. The fur of the coat is yellow and the collar red. The finished picture for which this study was a preliminary sketch is at Lambeth Palace, London, and another similar painting is in the Louvre.

'THE LADY ELIOT'

PLATE III

**T**HE Lady Eliot was Margaret, daughter of Sir Maurice Abarrow of Hampshire. After the death of her husband, Sir Thomas Eliot, by whom she had three sons, she married Sir James Dyer, chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and in 1569 her death is recorded at Stoughton, where she was buried "with much solemnity" in the parish church.

Holbein's drawing, made in black chalk, shows her in a yellow diamond-shaped hood with the customary black "fall," and with an embroidered collar around her neck. The body is but slightly sketched, and the whole work has been somewhat rubbed.

'SIR THOMAS ELIOT'

PLATE IV

**S**IR THOMAS ELIOT, whose great and varied learning recommended him to the favor of Henry VIII., was among the first of literary Englishmen of his time. Educated for the law, a writer on medical, ethical, and historical subjects, he is recorded as having been "a very good grammarian, Grecian, poet, philosopher, physician, and what-not to complete a gentleman." He was knighted by the king, and in 1532 went as ambassador to Rome to expostulate with the pope on the proposals made by the latter in regard to the divorce of Queen Catharine. Owing to his intimacy with Sir

Thomas More and his attachment to the Roman Catholic religion he however fell into disfavor at court and disappeared from the public eye. He died in 1546.

Holbein's fine drawing of him is in black chalk on flesh-colored paper. The hair is brown; he wears a black cap, and fur around his neck.

'MISTRESS ZOUCHE'

PLATE V

IT is probable that Mistress Zouch (or Souch, as the name was frequently spelled) was Joan, sister of Sir Edward Rogers, Comptroller of the Royal Household to Queen Elizabeth, and wife of Richard Zouch. All particulars of her life are, however, unknown, and she cannot be certainly identified. The hair in the drawing is lightly colored with yellow chalk, and the small round jeweled bonnet, or veil, of red and yellow has somewhat the effect of a coronet.

'SIR JOHN GODSALVE'

PLATE VI

THIS drawing represents Sir John Godsalue, probably the same person whom Holbein painted at a younger age in the picture called 'Sir Thomas and John Godsalue' of the Dresden Gallery. Sir John was a wealthy young commoner who early became attached to the court and made part of the splendid retinue which attended Henry VIII. on his voyage to Boulogne. Edward VI. made him a Knight of the Carpet at the magnificent tourney which followed that prince's coronation, and later appointed him Comptroller of the Mint. While holding that office Godsalue is said to have been concerned with the vice-treasurer of the Bristol mint in those peculations which were a scandal of the time; though this rumor is hard to reconcile with his somewhat puritanical aspect—an appearance confirmed by the royal account-book, which itemizes that on New Year's day, 1539, when every one at court brought some gift to the king, the artists their own works and the nobles costly pieces of plate and the like, Godsalue presented his sovereign with a copy of the New Testament.

The drawing of him is not a sketch, but an almost completed work in body-color, and probably shows how Holbein prepared those portraits on parchment or paper which he afterwards glued to wood panels and finished as pictures. The background is blue: Sir John is dressed in a purple coat and black overdress edged with yellow sable.

'THE LADY VAUX'

PLATE VII

ELIZABETH, Lady Vaux, was the wife of Thomas, second Lord Vaux of Harrowden, the poet of Henry VIII.'s reign. In Holbein's Windsor drawing of her, made in black chalk on flesh-colored paper, she wears a yellow diamond-shaped hood, or cap, with black bars and with a large "fall" behind. There is a finished painting of Lady Vaux at Hampton Court which is attributed to Holbein, and another portrait of her in Prague. Both drawing and portraits represent her at about the age of thirty.

'JOHN FISHER, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER'

PLATE VIII

**J**OHN FISHER, Bishop of Rochester, was born about 1459. Such were his virtues and learning that in 1502 he was appointed private chaplain and confessor to Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII., and was later made Bishop of Rochester and president of Queen's College, Cambridge. A zealous promoter of the New Learning, it is said that at forty-six he began the study of Greek and at fifty that of Hebrew. Having pronounced against the divorce of Henry VIII. and Catharine of Aragon, and having become involved in the imposition of the "Holy Maid of Kent," to whose "revelations" he lent too ready an ear, Fisher was accused of misprision of treason, and refusing to take the oath of succession, was sent to the Tower. While he was confined there the pope made him a cardinal, but when the news of this reached Henry's ears the king is said to have exclaimed: "Yea, is he so lusty? Well, let the pope send him a hat; I will so provide that he shall wear it on his shoulders, for head he shall have none to set it on!" Bishop Fisher was brought to trial for denial of the king's authority as head of the Church, adjudged guilty, and beheaded on Tower Hill on the twenty-second of June, 1535.

The best portrait of him is said to be this drawing by Holbein at Windsor. It is on stone-colored paper, in red and black chalk. The thin, worn face of the old bishop is that of a man whose learning, purity of life, and piety might well have called forth Sir Thomas More's encomium: "In this realm there is no one man in wisdom, learning and long approved vertue together, mete to be matched and compared with him."

'THE LADY HEVENINGHAM'

PLATE IX

**T**HE lady here represented in a diamond-shaped yellow hood with a large black "fall" is probably Lady Mary Heveningham, although the face bears a remarkable resemblance to Holbein's portrait of Margaret Roper, the daughter of Sir Thomas More.

Lady Heveningham was a daughter of Sir John Shelton and a cousin of Anne Boleyn, and by her marriage with Sir Anthony Heveningham, or Henningham, whose mother was also a Shelton, became doubly related to Henry VIII.'s unfortunate queen. We may well imagine that during the king's short-lived favor for her fair cousin, Lady Heveningham was an important figure at court, but all we really know of her is that she bore her husband two sons and three daughters, and that the Heveningham family flourished, wealthy and respected, in the county of Norfolk, until this lady's grandson committed treason by signing the regicide warrant of 1648, and the family estates were forfeited to the Crown. In 1558, however, the Lady Heveningham became a widow, and soon after married one Philip Appleyard. She died about 1563.

**SIR JOHN GAGE**, who is here represented in a slouch-brimmed hat, was one of the most notable and gallant figures of his time. From his father, a private gentleman who died while Sir John was still an infant, he inherited so large an estate that the Duke of Buckingham, then in great power and favor, condescended to ask for his guardianship; and under his care the young Gage received an education which fitted him for both army and court. He fought with much gallantry at the sieges of Tournay and Therouënne, and King Henry appointed him captain of the Castle of Calais, but subsequently recalled him to make him his Vice-Chamberlain, Captain of the Guard, and Privy Councillor. Sir John returned to active service in the field, however, and commanded bravely and sagaciously against the Scots; was subsequently appointed to many offices; and, as a crowning honor, was made Constable of the Tower of London. He took command of the army, jointly with the Duke of Suffolk, at the siege of Boulogne, and the king by will appointed him one of his executors.

He continued in favor during the ensuing reign until, after the rise of the Duke of Northumberland to power, he in some way contrived to offend that haughty nobleman, and was dismissed from all his offices, although the late king had granted him the Constabship of the Tower for life. Queen Mary, however, restored him to this post, and made him also Lord Chamberlain of her household. He died in 1557.

A LIST OF HOLBEIN'S DRAWINGS IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY  
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**WILLIAM WARHAM**, Archbishop of Canterbury (Plate II); John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester (Plate VIII); John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's; John Russell, Earl of Bedford; Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford; William Par, Marquis of Northampton; Edward Stanley, Earl of Derby; Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey; The Countess of Surrey; Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey (*bis*); William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton (Plate I); Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Ormond; George Brook, Lord Cobham; Lord Wentworth; Lord Vaux (*bis*); Lady Vaux (Plate VII); Richard Rich, Lord Chancellor; Lady Rich; Lord Clinton; Sir John More; Sir Thomas More (*bis*); John More; Cicely Heron; Anne Crisacre; Sir John Godsalue (Plate VI); Sir Richard Southwell; Sir George Carew; Sir Gawen Carew; Sir Thomas Eliot (Plate IV); Lady Eliot (Plate III); Sir Thomas Strange; Sir Thomas Wyat; Sir Philip Hobby; Lady Hobby; Sir Henry Guldeford; Sir John Gage (Plate X); Sir William Sherington; Sir Charles Wingfield; Sir Thomas Parry; Sir Nicholas Poins (*bis*); John Poins; Philip Melancthon; John Reskemeer; Simon George of Cornwall; Nicholas Borbonius; Anne Boleyn, Queen; Jane Seymour, Queen; Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards King; Edward VI.; Princess Mary, afterwards Queen; The Duchess of Suffolk; The Marchioness of Dorset; Lady Montegale; Lady Meutas; Lady Heveningham (Plate IX); Lady Lister; Lady Ratcliffe; Lady Parker; Lady Butts; Lady Audley; Mistress Zouch (Plate V); Mother Jak, nurse to Prince Edward; Several Studies of Unknown Gentlemen and Ladies of the Court of Henry VIII.

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FOR a fuller bibliography of Holbein than is here given, the reader is referred to Volume I., Part 4, of this SERIES, which treats of the paintings of Holbein. The following list includes only additional references.

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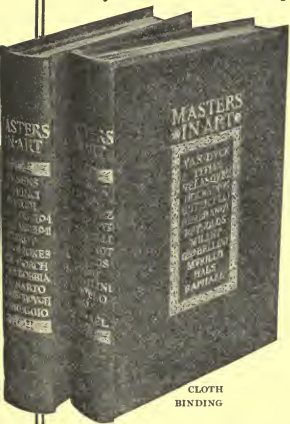
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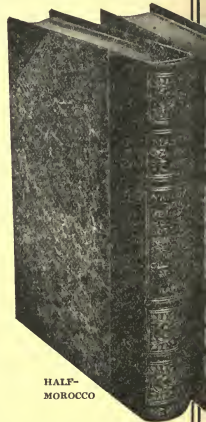
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